SENATE HISTORY

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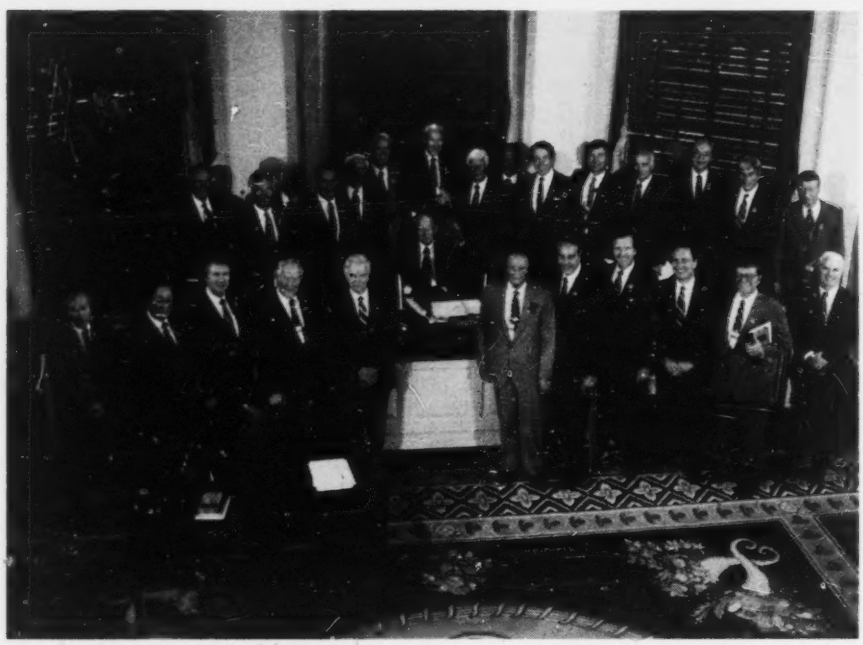
Congress Returns To Philadelphia

On July 16, 1987, for the first time in 187 years, the Senate met in ceremonial session outside of Washington DC. On a beautiful sun-washed Thursday, twenty-five senators and more than 175 members of the House of Representatives traveled to Philadelphia, the nation's capital between 1790 and 1800, for a special congressional celebration of the Constitution's bicentennial. Exactly 200 years earlier, on July 16, 1787, delegates to the Federal Convention at Philadelphia broke a deadlock that had threatened to disrupt their efforts to frame a new constitution. On that day, the framers agreed to the "Great Compromise" establishing the basis of representation within the newly devised legislative branch.

The 1987 commemoration of the Great Compromise began with welcoming ceremonies for the 200-member congressional delegation outside Independence Hall. At the conclusion of this ceremony, fifty-five specially chosen congressional "delegates" proceed to the Assembly Room of Independence Hall, where the Constitution was debated and drafted two centuries earlier. Included in this special delegation were the Speaker of the House, the Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate and House, and one member of Congress from each of the fifty states. The state delegates -- twelve senators and thirty-eight representatives -- were appointed by their individual state congressional delegations.



Senators gather around President Pro Tempore John C. Stennis at the conclusion of historic session in Congress Hall's Senate Chamber.

The fifty-five members, identical in number to the framers who participated in the convention of 1787, elected Representative Lindy Boggs (D-LA) as their presiding officer. In subsequent addresses to the assembled delegates, Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd described the delicate system of checks and balances created by the Constitution's framers. "Once again we are learning the great lesson of the value of this unique system of governing that we have taken for granted," he observed. "/I/n these periods of concern and turbulence, our system of checks and balances still stands, but it must never be taken for granted. If our system of government is left unattended, we place it in danger to habits of power that are inherently undemocratic and unconstitutional."

Republican Leader Bob Dole then spoke of the paradox in the convention's meetings. "The men of Philadelphia met behind closed doors. Yet out of their secret deliberations emerged the most open form of government the world has ever known," he said. "For what they crafted in 87 days of hot temperatures and still hotter debate was nothing less than a birth certificate for a new kind of people. It was a radical solution arrived at through compromise and concession."

At the conclusion of the Independence Hall ceremonies, delegates left the Assembly Room and joined other members of Congress waiting nearby. Members of the Senate and House then proceeded to their respective chambers in the adjacent Congress Hall. There, in the second floor Senate chamber, re-

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S940-6

Senate Bicentennial Commission Established

On March 12, 1987 the Senate re-established its Bicentennial Commission, which had been initially organized a year earlier. Under the direction of Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, chairman, and Republican Leader Bob Dole, vice chairman, the commission includes seven other senators. In order of seniority, they are John C. Stennis (D-MS), Strom Thurmond (R-SC), Mark O. Hatfield (R-OR), Wendell H. Ford (D-KY), Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS), Paul Simon (D-IL), and Terry Sanford (D-NC).

Commission staff support is provided by the Senate Historical Office and the Office of Senate Curator, both under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Senate, who serves as the commission's executive secretary. Those who wish to offer suggestions for Senate bicentennial activities should write to Hon. Walter J. Stewart, Secretary, United States Senate, Washington, DC 20510. This newsletter will carry reports of on-going commission activities.

Senator Robert C. Byrd addresses the delegates at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, July 16, 1987.

Research Collections Guide Still Available

Recently a Detroit, Michigan reference book publisher advertised a hard-bound edition of the *Guide to Research Collections of Former United States Senators, 1789-1982.* Their price is $225. A paper-bound edition of the identical *Guide* is still available free of charge from the Senate Historical Office, Washington, DC 20510.

Senate History is published on an occasional basis by the United States Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. 20510 (202-224-6900). Copies are available without cost. Individuals and institutions may request to be added to the mailing list for this publication.

Editor Richard A. Baker
Layout and Design John O. Hamilton

Congress (continued)

stored to its appearance of the 1790s, twenty-five senators were called to order by Senate President Pro Tempore John C. Stennis.

Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd observed: "We will never be together again here. And I hope and believe that 100 years from now when those who follow after us have come here again to honor and to respect that great organic document, the Constitution of the United States, and those who wrote it, perhaps they will feel as we do, that they have been fortunate, indeed that God who rules over the destiny of this Nation has been good to them as he has been good to us and all our fellow Americans."

Republican Leader Bob Dole also focused on the uniqueness of the occasion. Referring to the Senate's departure from that chamber in 1800, he said: "Never again would Senators climb the stairs to the second floor of Congress Hall to dispute the issues of the day -- never, that is, until today. We meet here as descendents of Adams and Jefferson, carrying on in the tradition of civil and constructive debate that they inspired, making certain that the clash of ideas does not degenerate into personal conflict."

Pennsylvania's two senators, John Heinz (R) and Arlen Specter (R), then discussed the history of the Senate during its residence in Philadelphia. Senators William Roth (R-DE) and Spark Matsunaga (D-HI), representing respectively the first and most recent states to enter the Union, described the growth of the Nation's founding ideals over two centuries. Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), of New representing the first state to ratify the Constitution's initial ten amendments, discussed the Bill of Rights. Senator John Melcher (D-MT) concluded with remarks on the significance of the Great Compromise. A complete transcript of the day's proceedings is reprinted in the *Congressional Record,* July 17, 1987, pp. S10099-S10109.

Warren G. Magnuson and Henry M. Jackson Papers Open for Research

The University of Washington Libraries recently celebrated completion of a Congressional Papers Project which supported archival processing for the papers of senators Warren G. Magnuson and the late Henry M. Jackson whose public careers spanned from the Great Depression to the 1980s. A champion of health care, medical research, and consumer legislation, Senator Magnuson is best known for his contribution to domestic issues. Senator Jackson was particularly noted for his leadership in defense policy, foreign affairs, and environmental issues. Together they cast over 20,000 votes and, during their forty years together in Congress, proved to be one of the most effective legislative teams in the history of American politics.

The papers of these two senators together occupy over 3,000 linear feet of shelving and include correspondence, speeches, writings, notes, reports, committee files, trip files, photographs, scrapbooks, audio tapes, microfilm, and videotapes. Senator and Mrs. Magnuson transferred the Magnuson papers to the University of Washington in 1981. Helen Jackson donated the papers of her late husband in 1983 shortly after his death. Although initial processing had begun when these papers were first donated, a special $393,000.00 appropriation by the Washington State Legislature in 1984 facilitated a more thorough and expeditious completion of this major project.

An inventory and guide has been prepared for each collection. The Jackson Papers consist of seven segments: Pre-congressional, 1936-40; House of Representatives, 1940-52; Senate, 1952-63; Senate, 1964-72; Senate, 1973-83; Foreign Policy and Defense Aides' Papers, 1954-83; and Campaign Records, 1952-82. The Magnuson Papers include five segments: Pre-congressional, 1929-36; House of Representatives, 1936-44; Senate, 1945-56; Senate, 1957-68; and Senate, 1969-80.

Correspondence files are the predominant in both collections, including communications with staff and constituents, colleagues, political supporters, and government agencies. Also included are speeches, information about legislation, background files on various issues, project files, scrapbooks and committee records. Among non-textual material are a large number of photographs, audio and videotapes, films, and phonographic discs, constituting an audio-visual record of significant proportions.

The Jackson papers cover the years from 1936 to 1983 and document his development from a young post-Depression era legislator to a key member of the Senate. They shed light on national politics as a result of Jackson's races for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972 and 1976, and his chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee during the 1960 campaign. Major issues documented include national security and defense matters, human rights, power and water resource projects, and environmental protection. They also are a source for study of the foreign policy making process and international relations.

The Magnuson papers document development of his political career from a young New Deal Democrat to a position of great power in the 1960s and 1970s. His papers are a rich source on such topics as the New Deal and economic recovery, World War II domestic administration, hydroelectric power and water resource development. They illuminate trade issues, the growth of federal government in the post-war years, post-war social issues, the passage and implementation of President Johnson's "Great Society" social programs, the Vietnam War, environmental issues of the 1970's, and Magnuson's involvement with issues and projects of particular interest to his home state.

The guides and inventories are available from the Libraries in inexpensive microfiche editions. The microfiche edition has also been widely distributed to major archives in the Pacific Northwest and to archival repositories in other states with major holdings of 20th century political papers. Researchers desiring more information about the collections or interested in obtaining microfiche inventories may write to: Manuscripts Section, University of Washington Libraries, FM-25, Seattle, Washington 98195. (206) 543-1879.

Mike Gravel Papers Guide

The Elmer E. Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska has published *a Guide to the Mike Gravel Papers, 1957-1980*, by Barbara M. Tabbert. Preparation, publication, and distribution of the 54-page guide and 489-page container list, reproduced on microfiche and inserted in a pocket inside the back cover of each guide, was funded by a special appropriation from the Alaska State Legislature in 1981.

The papers primarily document Gravel's service in the United States Senate from 1969 to 1980. The 509 linear feet of material is arranged into eight segments: legislative, correspondence, issue files, campaign, constituent services, public relations, staff files, and office records. An extensive file of chronologically arranged clippings documents various events of Gravel's career.

Also of note are the issued and draft press releases, speech texts, and constituent newsletters in the press release series. Yearly calendars record many of Gravel's appointments during his Senate service. Sponsorship and cosponsorship notebooks in the legislative files provide information about bills supported by Gravel. Besides textual materials, the collection contains photographs and slides, audio and video tapes, films, memorabilia, and scrapbooks.

The papers document a turbulent decade in Alaska land matters, including the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, development of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline system, and the Alaska National Interest Lands controversy. They also detail Gravel's involvement in international issues such as the Viet Nam War, his public reading of the Pentagon Papers, his interest in Israel, the Panama Canal, and the proposed Central American sea-level canal. Important energy issues of the 1970's include Gravel's support for oil and gas development as well as forms of alternative energy, and his criticism and opposition to nuclear projects without extensive safeguards.

The *Guide* is available for $12.00 from the Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska-Fairbanks, Fairbanks, Alaska 99775-1005. (907) 474-7261.

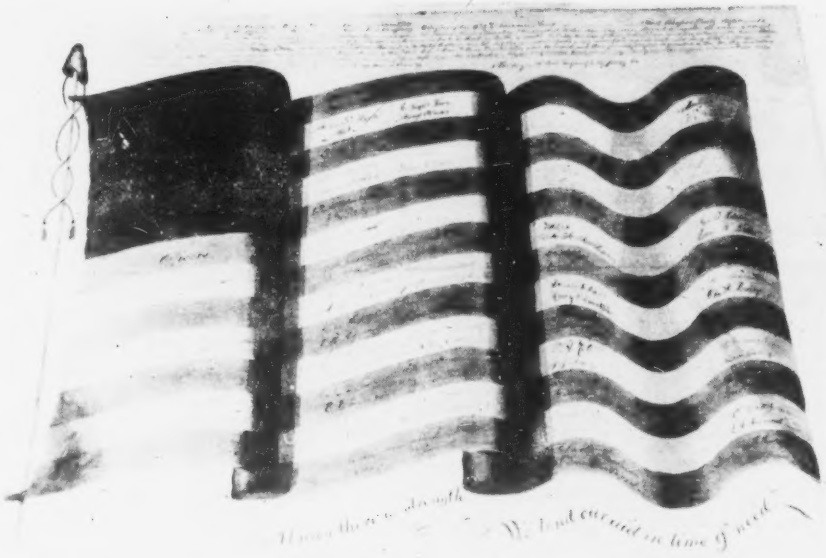
The Senate's Historic Records

by David R. Kepley
Chief, Reference Branch,
National Archives

The historic records of the United States Senate have been housed at the National Archives since 1937. These materials represent the official records of the Senate, consisting mostly of records created by and referred to its committees, as well as the records of the Secretary of the Senate. The office and private papers of individual senators are not at the National Archives; these papers are considered the senators' private property. At their discretion senators often deposit their papers at a home state repository.

The records of the Senate at the National Archives, which now amount to nearly 20,000 cubic feet of historic materials, represent a rich slice of American history. There are messages from every President and Cabinet officer, transmitting routine reports, as well as crucial documents, such as the President's annual State of the Union message. Probably the most prominent example of this series includes Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" speech, delivered on December 8, 1941. Senate files also include the records of famous investigating committees, such as the Nye Committee, which investigated the influence of munitions makers and financiers on American entry into World War I, the Kefauver Committee, which exposed racketeering and organized crime in the 1950s, and Senator Sam Ervin's Watergate Committee of the 1970s.

In addition, Senate records contain thousands of petitions from citizens on every conceivable topic in a wide variety of shapes and sizes. There are, for instance, hundreds of anti-slavery petitions from the antebellum period, many of which consist of dozens of sheets of paper glued end-on-end to form 20-30 foot long documents rolled onto wooden dowels. Perhaps the most aesthetically pleasing of these antebellum petitions is one sent by the Union Fire Company of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in February 1861. The firemen prayed that Congress enact some compromise to stop the impending sectional crisis. The petition itself is a watercolor of a flag of the United States with the men's signatures on the stripes. The most gigantic example of a petition is one submitted to the Senate in the 1890s asking for the creation of a Department of Roads. More than 150,000 signatures are inscribed on hundreds of feet of paper which were wrapped around two huge wooden wheels set one on top of the other in a wooden frame. The entire contraption stands over six feet tall.



Among the Senate records at the National Archives is this 1861 petition, in the form of a watercolor of the American flag, from the Union Fire Company of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, urging Congress to seek a compromise to avert the impending sectional crisis. The firemen's signatures are on the stripes.

The Legislative Archives Division of the National Archives is responsible for preserving and making these records available to the public. Senate records at the National Archives are available for research under the provisions of Senate Resolution 474, 96th Congress. The resolution provides that most Senate records are available for public inspection 20 years after their creation. Those records that relate to nominations, personnel matters, and investigative files that contain personal information are unavailable to the public until 50 years after their creation. Other records that are closed by statute, such as income tax returns, or by executive order of the president, such as national security classified information, are available under the terms of the applicable statute or executive order.

To give an indication of the level of reference activity, during FY86 the Legislative Archives Division received 585 letters and orders for reproductions of original records and made 2086 oral replies, both in person and over the telephone, to requests for information about records of the Senate and the House of Representatives. A total of 2696 items (boxes, bound volumes, and folders) were furnished to researchers in the National Archives Building, while 589 items were loaned to Congressional committees for use in support of current business. In addition the Division provided at cost 14,269 copies of original Congressional materials, most of which were paper to paper copies. The Legislative Archives Division dedicated a total of 6982 hours of staff time in fulfilling these reference activities.

While these gross statistics on refer-

ence activity in the records of Congress are interesting, they do not give much of a sense of what kind of information is being sought and by whom. An examination of the letters received by the Division in FY86, show that most researchers interested in Senate records are academic historians. This group comprises about one-third of the total. Many of these historians were interested in viewing the records of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In 1986, the Committee, always a leader in making its records available for research, took a step in making more of its materials available sooner than is required. Some historians also showed an interest in the records of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Last year, the classified records of the Committee were transferred to the National Archives after having been stored on Capitol Hill for several decades. The Archives has processed numerous requests to declassify portions of these records.

The next largest group of researchers with an interest in Senate records are members of the general public and genealogists. While one does not normally think of Senate records as being a source for genealogical information, enterprising family historians have found some fascinating data about their ancestors among Senate private claims files. An important ancient right of Englishmen, incorporated into the Constitution, permits citizens to petition their government for a redress of grievances. Historically, much of this activity has been focused on the Congress, as the people's elected representatives. When citizens have a complaint that involves a private claim against the government or in which the government is involved, petitions were frequently directed to Congress.

Congress has been bombarded with thousands of such petitions over the last nearly two hundred years. A typical claim file can contain the original petition, a report from the executive department with jurisdiction over the problem, the Senate committee's report, and a bill introduced to alleviate the problem. Genealogists are delighted to see original petitions in their ancestor's own hand.

Legal professionals comprise the third largest group of requestors for Senate records. These individuals are most often interested in examining the legislative and treaty files that a committee maintained on a bill as it worked its way through the legislative process. Lawyers and legal aides examine these records in minute detail to determine the intent of Congress on a statute under which their client is being sued or prosecuted. Determining the intent of Congress is always challenging and these legal professionals attempt to gleen it from memoranda between senators and staff on the intent of particular provisions, transcripts of unpublished executive session hearings, and drafts of proposed legislation. Often the smallest things can the most revealing to these researchers. For similar reasons, legal researchers have also shown a great deal of interest in Indian and foreign treaty files.

One of the joys of doing research in such a diversified body of records like that of the Senate is that even the experts are constantly being surprised by the information that can be learned from them. For instance, until recently the study of petitions was confined to genealogists. During the past year, however, several social historians exploited these petitions to learn of the attitudes and tactics of common people on significant social issues. One historian studied all petitions submitted during the 1830s-50s by abolitionist women from Rhode Island. She was able to discover much about the mechanics of the petition gathering process and the role of women in the abolitionist movement. She found several petitions with the instructions still attached, demonstrating that nineteenth century people were no better at following directions that their twentieth century progeny.

While sifting through the records of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads for the early nineteenth century, the National Archives staff located two petitions, dated 1834 and 1836, from the citizens of Springfield, Illinois, requesting that a postal route be established between Danville and Springfield. These petitions are typical of hundreds like it from frontier areas, where people were desperately trying to make their communities more accessible to the outside world. And like other such petitions these were signed by prominent members of the communities. What makes these two petitions special is that both were signed by Abraham Lincoln. At that time Lincoln was the postmaster of New Salem, Illinois, and a state legislator in his mid twenties. These documents represent the earliest known signatures of Lincoln in the National Archives.

While we tend to think of the records of Congress as primarily a political body of materials, discoveries made by several researchers interested in art history have made us reconsider this assumption. Researchers found an early design for the Washington Monument, a watercolor of a proposed National Cemetary, kind of an American Westminster Abbey, to be located on the site of the current National Portrait Gallery, a drawing of the Potomac River showing the site for a proposed bridge from Virginia into Georgetown, and a drawing of the Capitol Building, showing where George Washington's statue would be located in the rotunda. Many of these drawings are originals done by Robert Mills, a prominent nineteenth century architect and engineer.

The Senate's historic records have also played a role in the day to day activities of the Senate. During the summer of 1986, the Office of the Clerk of the House and the Senate Legal Counsel used Senate and House records at the National Archives to aid them in the impeachment and conviction of Nevada Federal Judge Harry Claiborne. These offices wanted to know very specific procedural questions, such as who should sign a summons and what type of journal of proceedings should be kept. In addition to providing this information, the Archives located a page and a half summary of the exact procedures that the Senate employed in trying Judge Halsted Ritter in 1936, the last official to be impeached and convicted.

The historic records of the Senate are of interest to a broad constituency. They are an aid to lawyers and Capitol Hill staff busy with the problems of the present and historians trying to piece together a fragment of the American past. For further information on the official records of the Senate, write to David Kepley, Chief, Reference Branch, Legislative Archives Division, National Archives, Washington, DC, 20408 or telephone (202) 523-4185.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee "Historical Series" for 1962 and 1963

Early Congressional skepticism of the Vietnam war appears prominently in two recently published volumes of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's "Historical Series," covering executive session testimony in 1962 and 1963. In a prophetic exchange at a closed door hearing on January 12, 1962, Senator Wayne Morse warned the U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam, Frederick Nolting: "I just want to go on record as saying that, in my judgment, if you make this a unilateral American military action, you will be surprised how quickly American public opinion will leave you in regard to the sacrifice of American boys in Southeast Asia." Kennedy administration officials considered it unwise to dramatize the American role in Vietnam, by releasing information on the number of Americans and the amount of military aid designated for Vietnam. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara explained that "The South Vietnamese are very sensitive to the extent to which we appear to be directing their military effort."

In a 1963 hearing, Senator Albert Gore, Sr. objected: "Why must we suffer such great losses in money and lives for an area which to me seems unessential to our welfare, and to freedom, there being none there?" In reply, General Maxwell Taylor explained that the Kennedy administration saw the Vietnam war as an answer to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's call for war of national liberation. Vietnam was "a great test," said General Taylor. "We have indeed taken up this glove and we must win and we can win, it is within our resources, we have everythng necessary there now to win."

Less than a month before the coup that overthrew South Vietnamese Presdient Ngo Dinh Diem, CIA Director John McCone told the committee: "We have not seen a successor government in the wings that we could say positively would be an improvement over Diem." Following Diem's assassination, Secretary of State Dean Rusk denied to members of the Foreign Relations Committee that the United States had precipitated the coup. Rusk testified that the administration had been aware of rumors of coups, and that U.S. officials had been in contact with Vietnamese military officers who were considering a military take over. "But when the events actually started -- we got a telephone call at the moment that the coup started -- this idea that we might have substantially advance notice disappeared into thin air."

In addition to testimony related to Vietnam, these volumes contain hearings about the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and the release of U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers. A limited number of copies from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at no charge. Those interested in being added to the regular mailing list for the "Historical Series" should notify the Senate Historical Office.

STATEMENTS ON THE SENATE'S HISTORY

Early in 1980 Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd initiated a comprehensive series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By mid-1987 he had delivered 93 addresses, as listed below. On February 19, 1987 the Senate agreed to publish the complete series as a major contribution to its 1989 bicentennial commemoration. Future issues of *Senate History* will provide publication details.

TOPICAL SERIES

Date	Subject	Pages*
Mar. 21, 1980	General History of Congress	6157-6159
Mar. 28, 1980	General History of the Senate	7059-7061
Apr. 3, 1980	Role of Congress in American Government	7655-7657
Apr. 18, 1980	History of the Senate Leadership	8348-8353
May 2, 1980	Role of Senate Floor Leaders	9757-9763
May 9, 1980	Assistant Floor Leaders/Whips	10754-10758
May 16, 1980	Secretary of the Democratic Conference/Office of President Pro Tempore (I)	11564-11575
May 20, 1980	List of All Current and Former Senators	11766-11773
May 21, 1980	Office of President Pro Tempore (II)	11909-11911
May 28, 1980	Sergeant at Arms (I)	12451-12454
June 4, 1980	Sergeant at Arms (II)	13269-13272
June 13, 1980	Secretary of the Senate	14776-14784
June 16, 1980	Majority and Minority Secretaries	14896-14899
June 25, 1980	Chaplain of the Senate	16762-16767
July 2, 1980	Parliamentarian/Legislative Clerks	18410-18416
July 21, 1980	*Congressional Record*/Reporters of Debate	18775-18778
Aug. 1, 1980	Democratic Conference and Policy Committee	21102-21109
Aug. 4, 1980	Republican Conference	21185-21188
Aug. 18, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1789-1800	21700-21705
Aug. 25, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1800-1859	22776-22781
Sep. 3, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, Since 1859	23933-23939
Sep. 8, 1980	Senate Pages	24534-24540
Sep. 17, 1980	The United States Constitution	25699-25903
Sep. 30, 1980	General Accounting Office	28083-28085
Oct. 1, 1980	Library of Congress	28747-28752
Nov. 14, 1980	Government Printing Office	29630-29632
Nov. 17, 1980	British Parliamentary Leadership	29737-29739
Nov. 24, 1980	The Senate Press Galleries	30873-30879
Dec. 4, 1980	Records of the United States Senate	32322-32327
Dec. 8, 1980	Circular Letters of Congressmen	32879-32894
Dec. 15, 1980	Congressional Pay, 1789-1980	34197-34199
Jan. 21, 1981	Legislative Counsel of the Senate	681-683
Jan. 29, 1981	Botanic Garden and Capitol Landscape	1295-1300
Feb. 3, 1981	The Capitol Police	1533-1539
Feb. 16, 1981	The Senate Rules -- An Overview: 1789-1981	2187-2198
Mar. 10, 1981	Limited Debate, 1789-1981	3879-3888
Apr. 8, 1981	U.S. Senate -- Some Senate Rules and Practices	6871-6875
Apr. 27, 1981	God in American History	7372-7375

CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES

May 4, 1981	The United States Senate: First Congress	8240-8246
May 19, 1981	William Maclay's Senate	10135-10142
June 4, 1981	Birth of Political Parties in the Senate	11435-11441
June 15, 1981	The Senate in the Jeffersonian Era, 1800-1808	12326-12331
July 8, 1981	The Senate and the War of 1812 (1809 to 1816)	14871-14877
July 31, 1981	Early History of Senate Committees	19009-19014
Sep. 11, 1981	Recent Procedural Reforms	20315-20318
Oct. 19, 1981	"Era of Good Feelings," 1817-1824	24330-24337
Oct. 30, 1981	"Era of Suspense," 1825-1828	26205-26212
Mar. 3, 1982	The Senate Comes of Age, 1829-1833	2958-2962
Mar. 4, 1982	The Senate Comes of Age (continued)	3282-3287
Mar. 15, 1982	Senate Censures Andrew Jackson, 1833-1837	4105-4110
Dec. 3, 1982	The United States Senate From 1833-1840	S13843-13850
Feb. 1, 1983	The Senate, Expansionism, and the Mexican War	S772-780
Feb. 17, 1983	The Senate and the Compromise of 1850	S1382-1387
Feb. 24, 1983	The Senate in the Turbulent 1850s	S1694-1701
Mar. 2, 1983	The Senate During the Civil War, 1859-1865 (I)	S2041-2047
Mar. 24, 1983	The Senate During the Civil War, 1859-1865 (II)	S3942-3950
Apr. 5, 1983	West Virginia is Born	S4122-4126
Apr. 15, 1983	Senate in the Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1868	S4712-4719
June 6, 1983	The Senate in the Gilded Age, 1869-1876	S7756-7762
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Aug. 1, 1983	Senate Committees, 1845-1900	S11204-11210
Sep. 28, 1983	The Senate, 1884-1892: Watershed Years	S13066-13073
Nov. 11, 1983	The Senate, 1893-1900: Currency, Foreign Affairs, and Party Organization	S16025-16033
Feb. 3, 1984	The Senate in the Progressive Era, 1901-1912	S962-969
Mar. 2, 1984	Direct Election of Senators	S2272-2279
Mar. 8, 1984	The U.S. Senate and Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1920	S2475-2485
Mar. 26, 1984	The Senate in the Roaring Twenties	S3147-3153
June 15, 1984	The Senate and the Great Depression	S7423-7435
July 27, 1984	The Senate and the Great Debate Over Foreign Policy, 1919-1941	S9418-9425
Sep. 7, 1984	Profiles of New Deal Senators	S10844-10851
Feb. 26, 1985	Women Senators	S2174-2180
Mar. 28, 1985	Black Senators	S3756-3761
May 16, 1985	The Senate and the Second World War, 1941-1945	S6374-6382
June 3, 1985	Senate Committees, 1900-1946	S7291-7295
June 17, 1985	Congressional Reform: The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946	S8289-8295
July 8, 1985	The U.S. Senate and The Cold War, 1945-1953	S9066-9071
Sep. 23, 1985	The Senate and Joe McCarthy, 1947-1957	S11920-11926
Oct. 25, 1985	Two West Virginia Senators	S14220-14227
Nov. 18, 1985	Robert A. Taft's Senate, 1945-1953	S15692-15699
Mar. 3, 1986	Lyndon Johnson and the U.S. Senate, 1948-1961	S1909-1918
Apr. 28, 1986	The Senate and A Bipartisan Foreign Policy	S4960-4965
July 17, 1986	The Senate Class of 1958	S9221-9225
Sep. 8, 1986	Mike Mansfield's Senate: Great Society Years	S12046-12052
Sep. 12, 1986	Mike Mansfield's Senate: Vietnam Years	S12520-12523
Oct. 10, 1986	Everett Dirksen's Senate	S15875-15880
Feb. 17, 1987	The United States Senate and Watergate	S2083-2091
Feb. 23, 1987	Senate Committees Since 1947	S2373-2377
Apr. 6, 1987	The First Senate: First Days	S4614-4619
Apr. 10, 1987	Advise and Consent: The Senate and Treaties	S5134-5142
May 15, 1987	The Senate in Literature and Film	S6602-6607
June 2, 1987	Radio and Television Coverage of Senate Proceedings	S7394-7401
June 19, 1987	The United States Senate: Impeachment	S8379-8386
July 29, 1987	Advice and Consent: Rubber Stamp or Seal of Approval	S10829-10836

*Citations prior to December 3, 1982 are to the Permanent Edition of the Congressional Record. Subsequent citations are to the Daily Edition.

Grover Ensley Oral History Opens

"I tried to be deferential to my members /of the Joint Economic Committee/. I got to be known as the fellow that walks things around. I would go one-on-one and explain the economic situation to them and what I thought the committee and Congress should do. Then I'd go to the next one. When we'd have a committee meeting, it was pretty much resolved before hand. I would know before the committee would meet as to where I could get areas of agreement and where I couldn't. The objective was to try to minimize confrontation. Not that you would try to eliminate serious differences of opinion or debate, but we would try to reconcile things as best we could."

In 1949, economist Dr. Grover Ensley joined the staff of the congressional Joint Economic Committee and quickly advanced to the post of executive director. He held that position until 1957 when he left Capitol Hill to become president of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks. Ensley's tenure on Capitol Hill coincided with a period of rapid growth in the size and functions of congressional staff. In this 116-page interview, recently opened to researchers, he provides an outstanding example of the imagination and productivity that senior staff brought to the multiple challenges of the post war era. Copies of the Ensley transcript have been deposited, along with others in the Senate Historical Office's oral history series, in the Senate Library, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and the Legislative Archives Division of the National Archives. Microfilm editions are available from Scholarly Resources, Inc., Wilmington, DE 19805-1897.

Charles Sumner Papers Microfilmed

A Southern Congressman assaulted him with a cane in the Senate chamber; the Republican caucus removed him as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; he was a dedicated opponent of slavery, and sponsor of the first civil rights legislation; he lent his support to women's rights, and became a foe of American overseas expansion. In every way, Massachusetts's Senator Charles Sumner left his mark on the United States Senate during his service from 1851 to 1874.

Senator Sumner's entire correspondence -- some 26,000 letters culled from 200 reposities -- is now available on microfilm, in an edition prepared by Beverly Wilson Palmer. They include Sumner's exchanges with Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, Susan B. Anthony, Frederick Douglass, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Charles Dickens and Alexis de Tocqueville, as well as letters from over 300 United States senators and other political leaders.

A printed guide to the microfilm edition is arranged alphabetically by correspondent, giving the date and place where it was written, whether to or from Sumner, its repository, and its location on the microfilm reels. The guide also includes a biographical index identifying the approximately 2000 people who corresponded with Sumner. Those interested in further information on this collection should contact Chadwyck-Healey, Inc., 1101 King Street, Alexandria, VA 22314.

Elbert D. Thomas Award

Financed by the Elbert D. Thomas Memorial Fund, the Utah State Historical Society will offer an annual prize of $100 for the best article-length manuscript on some aspect of the career of Elbert D. Thomas and based in major part on the Papers of Elbert D. Thomas in the Utah State Historical Society Library. The first prize will be awarded on June 17, 1988 and annually on that date thereafter. The winning manuscript will be selected by a panel of judges.

Elbert D. Thomas (1883-1953) was a Mormon missionary to Japan, a scholar of Far Eastern cultures, professor of political science, Democratic Senator from Utah (1933-1951), and high commissioner of the U.S. Trust Territories of the Pacific. The Society's collection of approximately 180 cubic feet of his personal and professional papers contains documentation of all those aspects of his life. An extensive unpublished guide to the papers is available for researchers in the Library.

To be eligible for the prize, manuscripts should be between 20-30 double-spaced typewritten pages in length and include full footnotes. Send all entries before May 1, 1988 to:

Curator of Manuscripts
Utah State Historical Society
300 Rio Grande
Salt Lake City, Utah 84101

Senate Bicentennial Minutes

On January 6, 1987, Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole inaugurated a series of "Bicentennial Minutes" to commemorate the historic 100th Congress.

Between that opening-day session and the August recess, Senator Dole delivered 94 separate statements, usually at the beginning of each daily Senate session. Each "Minute" focuses on a specific event, place, or personality significant to the Senate's institutional development over nearly two centuries. The Republican Leader has indicated that he plans to continue this series of remarks throughout the 100th Congress, concluding at the end of 1988. It is likely that they will be compiled and separately published in connection with the Senate's 1989 bicentennial commemoration. Here, from the *Congressional Record* of March 12, 1987, is that day's "Minute."

March 12, 1806: The Value of Senate Oratory

Mr. President, during the Senate's nearly two hundred years of existence, only a few of its members have kept and published diaries. William Plumer of New Hampshire carefully recorded his involvement in Senate activities between 1803 and the end of his brief service in 1807. Here is a portion of his entry for the session that met on March 12, 1806, 181 years ago today.

I have for sometime been convinced that speeches in the Senate in most cases have very little influence upon the vote. I believe that in nineteen cases out of twenty they do not change a single vote. For this inefficiency there are various causes. All our documents, communications, reports, bills and amendments are printed and laid on our tables and those of us who examine subjects for ourselves, and do not vote on the faith of others, read and examine and form opinions for ourselves. Having read and examined a subject, we converse with each other and freely exchange our sentiments. This not only confirms or changes the opinions of some, but fixes the vote of others who never give themselves the trouble of examination. Some senators are implicitly led by the administration. Others have their /faction/ leader. When a senator is making a long speech, the chairs are most of them deserted and the vote is often settled in a conversation at the fireside. The conversation is there often so loud as to interrupt the senator who is speaking, for our vice president has not the talents requisite for a good presiding officer. Under these circumstances it is often difficult for a man who knows he is not /listened/ to, to deliver an able and eloquent argument. To this add that we have no stenographer, and seldom any hearers in the galleries . . . . I speak none, . . . and yet my influence on many subjects is not confined to my own vote.

Mr. President, I would only add that probably nothing has changed since then. As I look around, the Chamber is empty. It was not a long speech and we do have stenographers. We have no fireplace. We have an efficient Presiding Officer. Otherwise, everything is the same.

Index to Unpublished Senate Hearings

"Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work, Woodrow Wilson wrote a century ago in his study of *Congressional Government*. That observation has remained true, for the largest share of senators' work involves their committee assignments. Most committee work is published, in the form of hearings, reports, and drafted legislation, but historically a significant portion of committee business took place behind closed doors, and even if recorded was never printed. These were the committee's executive or closed door hearings and mark-up sessions.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 required for the first time that Senate and House committees make transcripts of these executive sessions. Previously, only hearings open to the public were regularly transcribed and printed. Closed hearings were recorded generally in the form of minutes. A small number of transcripts of closed hearings prior to 1946 have survived, but thousands of post-1946 hearings have been deposited at the National Archives, scattered through committee files at the Legislative Archives Division. Since the existence of these hearings has never been advertised, and since formal provision for access to them was established only recently, the great majority of the closed transcripts have never been examined by researchers.

The Congressional Information Service (CIS), a private firm, has now released its five-volume *CIS Index to Unpublished U.S. Senate Committee Hearings, 1823-1964*. Indexed by committee, subject, and witness, these volumes will provide researchers with access to material which for the most part was previously unavailable. With the approval of the Secretary of the Senate, CIS staff members culled through 20,000 boxes of Senate records at the National Arhieves to locate unpublished hearings. Their search took them beyond the confines of the Archives to the committee rooms and storage areas of Capitol Hill, and to the papers of former senators, to identify as comprehensive a collection of unpublished hearings as possible.

The executive session transcripts are available at the National Archives, where their access is governed by Senate Resolution 474 (1980). This resolution automatically opens all Senate records after twenty years, with the exception of material relating to national security and personal privacy, which may be closed for up to fifty years. CIS has also microfiched some 7,300 unpublished hearings, which are available for sale. For further information, contact Congressional Information Service, Inc., 4520 East-West Highway, Bethesda, MD 20814.

Senator Joseph T. Robinson Exhibit

An exhibit spotlighting the life of Sen. Joseph Taylor Robinson is currently on display in Mullins Library at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. Robinson was born in Lonoke, Arkansas August 26, 1872. After attending the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, he was elected to the state general assembly in 1895. From 1903 to 1913 he served in Congress resigning to become Governor of Arkansas. Two weeks into his gubernatorial term, however, the state legislature elected Robinson to fill an unexpired Senate seat. He thus became the only man to have been a congressman, governor, and senator within two weeks. From 1933 to 1937 Robinson served as Senate Majority Leader. In that capacity, he oversaw the passage of much of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal legislation.

The exhibit includes the only extant state document from Robinson's gubernatorial term, a song about Robinson's role in investigating the Teapot Dome scandal, and the telegram from Al Smith to Robinson congratulating him on his 1928 vice-presidential nomination. Of particular interest is a letter from J. Edgar Hoover informing Robinson of an alleged plot on his life.

Senator Robinson's papers are preserved in the Department of Special Collections, Mullins Library, at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. For further information contact Michael Dabrishus, Special Collections, Mullins Library, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR 72701, (501) 575-5577.

Bicentennial Publications Available

In preparation for its July 16 ceremonial session in Philadelphia, the Senate issued two publications of general interest. The first is *Creation of the Senate: From the Proceedings of the Federal Convention, May-September 1787* (Senate Document 100-7; Senate Bicentennial Publication No. 3). This 70-page pamphlet consists of a chronological account, drawn from James Madison's *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention* of that portion of the convention's secret deliberations that relate to the establishment of the Senate. It was first printed in 1937 at the time of the Constitution's 150th anniversary.

Also available is *The Senate in Philadelphia, 1790-1800* (Senate Publication 100-3). This eight-page pamphlet includes illustrations of the Constitution's framers who later served in the Senate and a brief account of Senate activities during its ten-year residence in Philadelphia. Individual copies may be obtained to the Senate Historical Office, Washington, DC 20510.

George A. Smathers Papers Open for Research

Following completion of archival processing and preparation of a finding guide, the George Armistead Smathers papers at the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History are now open for research. The papers consist of 122 manuscript boxes documenting Smathers' Senate career.

The papers are arranged into four major series: Subject-numeric correspondence files, 1942-1968; speeches, statements, and remarks, 1946-1968; campaign files, 1950-1968; and media, including radio recordings, radio and television broadcast scripts, newsletters, press releases, clippings, and photographs, 1958-1968.

The 118-page guide is available for consultation at the library, or an electrostatic copy may be purchased from the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, 404 Library West, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611. (904) 392-0319.

Congressional Papers Project Report

The National Historical Publications and Records Commission in cooperation with The Dirksen Congressional Center recently issued a *Congressional Papers Project Report*. This 60-page publication examines issues related to the archival management and preservation of congressional papers. Recognizing that these materials constitute a vital source for the study of Congress and its members, as well as significant national, state, and local issues, the report examines problems associated with preserving this important documentary record of Congress.

The report highlights the often severe problems of space, funding, and staffing encountered by repositories that acquire, arrange, and describe the office files and personal papers of members of Congress. In fact, resource problems are sometimes so severe that a leading research repository may find itself unable to accept a collection when it is offered. Because preservation of congressional collections entails a relatively large investment of a repository's time and budget, the report emphasizes the critical need for improved records management in congressional offices and for advance records disposition planning on the part of members and office staff. Both actions would help cut processing and preservation costs and at the same time lead to improved information management.

To assist congressional offices in the area of records management, the report details minimum standards for judging the value of collections. By becoming familiar with these standards, office staff can utilize records management techniques to improve the information resources available to the office and enhance operational efficiency. An added bonus is improved historical documentation and the creation of a research collection truly worthy of preservation. The standards also serve as useful guidelines for repositories contemplating the inclusion of congressional papers in their collection programs, and will serve as a standard for special funding and grant giving agencies that are asked to provide support for archival preservation of such collections. Because these standards are central to improving the quality of congressional documentation, they are reproduced in full below.

Planning for records disposition is promoted in a discussion of standards for archival repositories. The report outlines criteria by which a repository's ability to preserve and provide reference service on a member's collection can be judged. Again, the standards serve several purposes. Members may use them to assess repositories before selecting one, and repositories will find them useful in determining whether they must seek supplemental funding to meet the added demands on their resources. Those involved with grant awards selection or special appropriations will find them helpful in evaluating requests for assistance.

The report also recommends improved records management in congressional offices. In fact, conference participants felt that improved records management in congressional offices "is the most important activity that could be taken to improve the preservation of Congress's record." This becomes increasingly crucial as offices create and store more and more information using automated technologies -- media that are fragile and easily altered.

The group, however, identified several factors that could lead to improved records management. Besides increased member commitment, they called for more institutional support in Congress, improved relations between offices and repositories, forums for archivists and congressional staff to meet, and publications. At least one relevant publication, *Records Management Handbook for United States Senators and Their Repositories,* is already available from the Senate Historical Office. Other suggestions, such as more comprehensive institutional support and archival congressional fellowships remain to be explored.

The *Congressional Papers Project Report* was published as the result of a collaboration of nineteen historians, archivists, and records administrators from across the country on July 31 and August 1, 1985. The report is available from the Senate Historical Office, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Standards for Congressional Collections

The "value" of any Congress Member's papers depends upon several variables. These include a repository's ability and willingness to accommodate and service the papers, their physical and organizational condition, their scope and completeness, the degree to which they duplicate other collections, the usefulness of electronically generated portions, the availability of complementary collections and secondary sources, and the archivist's judgment regarding the richness and uniqueness of their content, both intrinsically and with relation to the Member's career and the operations of his or her office. Given the burgeoning quantities of congressional collections and their frequent reptitiveness, it is neither practical nor responsible for archivists to preserve them in their entirety. Neither is it practical or responsible to devote large amounts of public funds to their processing and preservation. The standards listed below provide benchmarks against which the enduring documentary and research value of a Member's papers may be assessed.

Member's Stature on the National or International Scene

- The Member attained a position of power or influence within Congress, such as majority or minority leader or whip, caucus leader, or committee chairmanship.
- The Member served in Congress for a long time. Those who have attained seniority are more likely to have made important political or governmental connections, achieved status among their peers, and received important committee and other assignments, although this is by no means inevitable.

- The Member served for a long period of time on a particular committee or subcommittee, especially an important one in relation to the issues of the day.
- The Member served on special committees or task forces, chaired public hearings, participated in investigations, or otherwise was active or influential in current issues and events important to public policy or to the operations of Congress.
- The Member cultivated expertise in one or more subject areas of substantial importance to national public policy.
- The Member was a Senator. This is not to say that all Senators are more important than all Representatives. Other qualities being equal, however, a Senator is likely to have enjoyed greater stature in policy matters and to have made contact with a broader spectrum of his or her home constituency than is a Representative.
- Either before or after serving in Congress, the Member held other significant elective or appointive offices at the state or national level, or pursued a private career or interests that regularly thrust him or her into the arena of public concerns.

Member's Relationship with Constituency

- The Member hailed from a geographical area or responded to a community of interests that are not adequately represented by other Members or their extant papers during the same period.
- The Member had close ties with other individuals or organizations active on the public scene, especially in his or her own state. Such relationships are especially pertinent if these associates have generated complementary papers that are, or are likely to be, placed in a public research institution.
- The Member was closely identified with a particular political or social philosophy, interest group(s), or issue(s).

Content Quality of the Collection

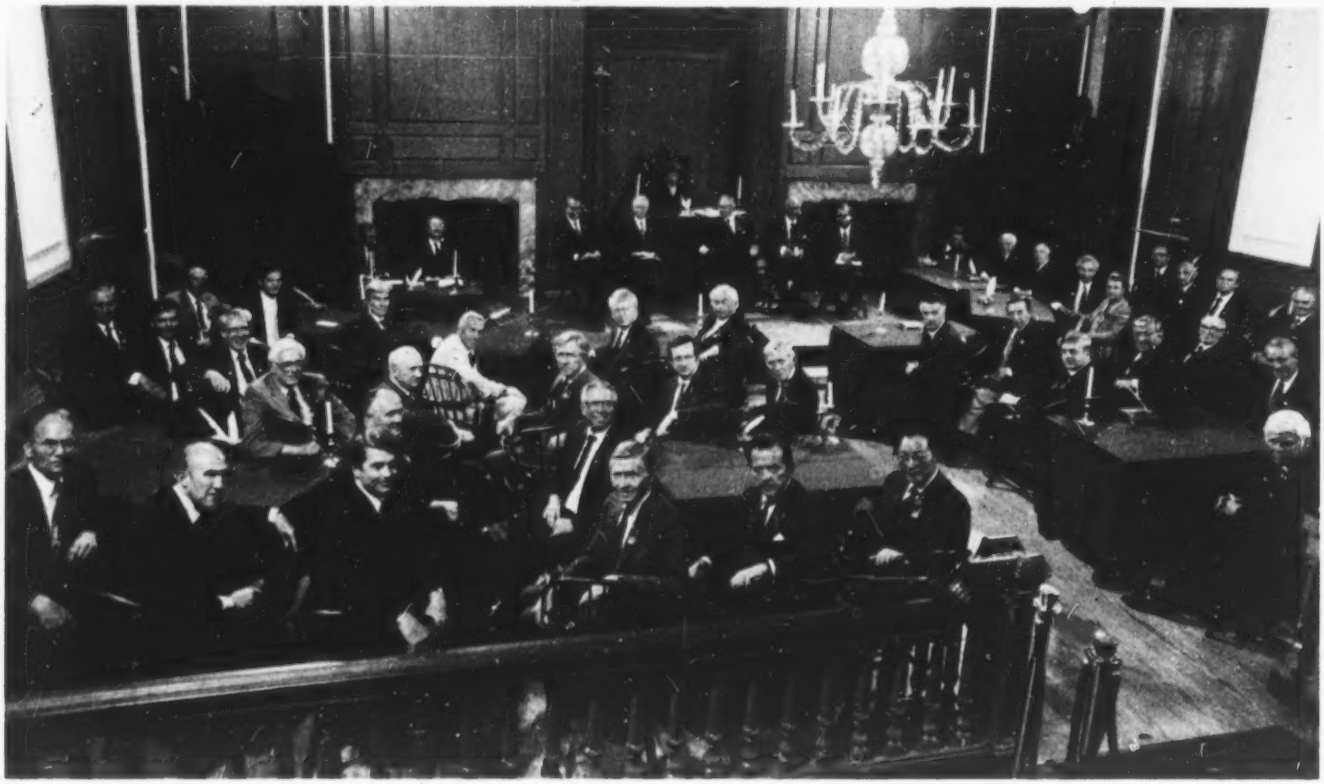
This may be a difficult attribute to confirm in the early stages of inspecting or accessioning the papers. It will always be a subjective judgment. Nevertheless, an examination of the collection's structure and file tiles will generally reveal the extent to which the factors listed below apply. The archivist can best assess content quality and make preliminary judgments regarding which portions of the collection exemplify the Member's role in the governing process if he or she has a chance to survey all files at one time, regardless of their origin or medium.

- The files offer a comprehensive view of the operations of the Member's office and its interactions with the constituency, as evidenced by a full range of files and file types. Common file types, not all of which the archivist will wish to preserve in their entirety, include departmental, committee, general/subject, legislative/bill, press/public relations, constituent services, issues/constituent correspondence, alpha/control, and invitations/schedules/speeches.
- The collection includes ancillary files that flesh out the office operations and the Member's activities, such as files of principal staff aides, political campaign files, and "personal" files.
- The collection reflects those aspects of a Member's career and political relationships that are unique to him or her.
- The collection includes substantive documentation of the non-congressional components of the Member's career.
- The collection includes a substantial body of correspondence or background materials on topics in which the Member is known to have been interested and involved. Especially valuable are typescript and near-print items not readily available elsewhere.
- The collection contains substantive files that document or emanate from the Member's service on important congressional committees, subcommittees, caucuses, task forces, investigative bodies, etc., or that pertain to issues connected with these bodies' spheres of action.
- The collection covers a long time span. Although time and bulk do not themselves measure value, the longer the period spanned by a collection, the greater the likelihood that in this single body of papers will be reflected such factors as the playing out of issues over time, changes in a given constituency's condition and concerns, and the evolution of the Member's political philosophy and practice. It also may be more amenable than a smaller collection to sampling procedures that will sustain this continuity while reducing bulk.
- No portion of the Member's personal or official papers have been transferred to or committed to another repository.

Manageability of the Collection

Several structural factors influence the ease with which a collection can be (1) organized into meaningful components, (2) appraised and weeded to reduce useless bulk while preserving its evidential and informational values, (3) serviced effectively to subsequent users, and (4) preserved for the long-term. It should be noted that, by and large, the better organized a collection is upon receipt, the less likely it is to need or warrant a large increment of supplemental funding to support its processing.

- The collection's components are well defined and in good order.
- Those series that lend themselves to sampling or heavy weeding can readily be distinguished from those that are more substantive, varied, or difficult to appraise.
- There exist texts as well as indexes or summaries of automatically generated responses to routine constituent mail. These are in a format that can be used with the technology available in the repository.
- Randomly filed correspondence, whether in paper form or on microfilm, is accompanied by indexes, lists, or other means of access.
- Records produced via office automation systems have been systematically indexed, listed, or selections reproduced in hard copy. System documentation, including file codes and procedural manuals, is available.
- Such non-paper media as photographs and tape recordings have been identified, dated, and systemtically filed or indexed.
- Records intended for permanent retention have been maintained on paper or other media that meet established quality standards. Non-paper media have been handled and stored under archivally sound conditions.



Fifty-five congressional delegates convene in Assembly Room of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, July 16, 1987

Senate History
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Walter J. Stewart
SECRETARY OF U.S. SENATE

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